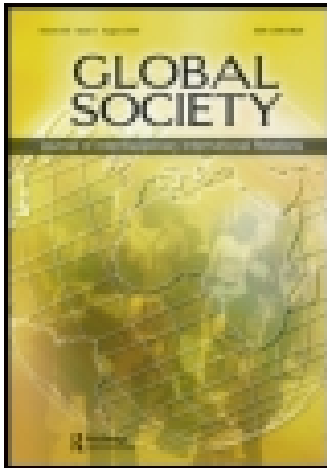


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The European Union's "Comprehensive Approach" in Chad: Securitisation and/or Compartmentalisation?

JAN ORBIE and KAREN DEL BIONDO

The European Union (EU) aims for a comprehensive approach to security in developing countries. As a result, attempts have been made to enhance the nexus between the EU's security policy and other policy areas, particularly development, humanitarian assistance, and democratic governance. This article analyses the EU's comprehensive approach in the case of Chad, focusing on two questions. First, has the EU's comprehensive approach been able to supersede the compartmentalisation of the EU's political system? Second, has it led to the securitisation of non-security policy areas? These questions are answered by investigating the nexus between the EU's security, democracy, development and humanitarian aid policies in Chad from 2006 onwards. This analysis confirms the compartmentalisation scenario, especially regarding development and humanitarian aid where the relation with security policies was at times openly conflicting. While the EU's democracy promotion policies are found to be securitised, this is not the case for development and humanitarian aid.

Introduction

The European Union (EU) has the ambition to address security challenges by taking a "comprehensive approach". In several official communications, the EU has underlined its commitment to human security.¹ This should be seen in light of the recognition that security and development are interrelated and that this understanding of a security–development nexus should inform the EU's policies.² Institutionally, progress towards a "whole-of-government approach" has been made in 2010 with the establishment of the European External Action Service (EEAS) which brings together national diplomats, former Commission officials from the Directorates General of Development and External Relations and

*We are grateful to David Galbreath, Richard Whitman, Stefan Wolff, Julia Leininger, Mark Furness, Annemarie Peen-Rodt, Laust Schouenborg, Maurizio Carbone, Olivia Rutazibwa, Christine Hackenesch, and Mary Farrell for feedback on earlier versions of this article. All remaining errors are our own.

1. European Union, "Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy" (Brussels: EU, 2008); Council of the EU, "Joint Statement by the Council and the Representatives of the Governments of the Member States Meeting with the Council, the European Parliament, and the Commission on European Union Development Policy: 'The European Consensus'" (Brussels: Council of the EU, 2006).

2. Council of the EU, "Council Conclusions on Security and Development" (Brussels: Council of the EU, 2007).

Council officials.³ Increasingly, these new ways of understanding security issues are informing the EU's strategies towards developing regions, including the Horn of Africa,⁴ the Great Lakes⁵ and the Sahel.⁶ In these strategies, the link between security, development, humanitarian problems and democratic governance is central. Nonetheless, the 2013 Joint Communication by the European Commission and the EEAS on a comprehensive approach to external conflicts and crises hardly mentions democratic governance and humanitarian objectives.⁷

Has the EU lived up to these ambitions of a comprehensive approach to security? The EU has strongly developed its capacities to strengthen the political systems of developing countries. While the EU used to be a primarily economic actor (development, trade), it has since the 1990s become more focused on democracy and good governance. Since the 2000s, the EU has also strengthened its security and defence policy and has deployed several European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) missions on African soil. The EU's agenda has certainly broadened, yet this ambition to take a comprehensive approach to security raises two questions that arise from existing studies. First, can the EU's comprehensive approach supersede the *compartmentalisation* of the EU's political system? The latter is known for its strong divisions between the different foreign policy sub-sectors such as development (former "first pillar") and security (former "second pillar").⁸ Previous studies found this to be the case for the EU's trade, development, foreign policy and security policies.⁹ Increased coordination mechanisms within and between EU institutions are no guarantee that the interplay between the different foreign policy subsystems results in a coherent foreign policy.¹⁰ Second, as security policies become more intertwined with other policies, could this lead to *securitisation*, where security objectives overshadow other policy objectives? Many authors have warned that a broader understanding of development may lead to a situation where development is being compromised for security objectives. For example, parallels are drawn between the current War on Terror and the Cold War era, when aid was being

3. Mark Furness, "Who Controls the European External Action Service? Agent Autonomy in EU External Policy", *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (2013), pp. 103–125.

4. Council of the EU, "Council Conclusions on the Horn of Africa" (Brussels: Council of the EU, 2011).

5. European Commission and EEAS, "A Strategic Framework for the Great Lakes Region, Joint Communication to the Council" (Brussels: EU, 2013).

6. EEAS, "Strategy for Security and Development in the Sahel" (Brussels: EEAS, 2013), available: <http://www.eeas.europa.eu/africa/docs/sahel_strategy_en.pdf> (accessed 19 May 2014).

7. European Commission and EEAS, "The EU's Comprehensive Approach to External Conflict and Crises" (Brussels: EU, 2013).

8. Hylke Dijkstra, "Commission versus Council Secretariat: An Analysis of Bureaucratic Rivalry in European Foreign Policy", *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (2009), pp. 431–450.

9. Richard Youngs, "Fusing Security and Development: Just Another Euro-Platitude?", *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (2008), pp. 419–437; Fernanda Faria and Richard Youngs, "European Conflict Resolution Policies: Truncated Peace-building", Working Paper No.94 (Madrid: FRIDE, 2010); Gorm Rye Olsen, "The Missing Link: EPAs, Security and Development Interventions in Africa", in Gerrit Faber and Jan Orbie (eds.), *EU–Africa Relations in Transition* (London/New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. 342–358; Ole Elgström and Jess Pilegaard, "Imposed Coherence: Negotiating Economic Partnership Agreements", *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (2008), pp. 363–380; Christian Bueger and Pascal Vennesson, "Security, Development and the EU's Development Policy" (Florence: European University Institute, 2009), available: <<http://erd.eui.eu/media/vennesson2.pdf>> (accessed 19 May 2014).

10. Sophie Vanhoonacker and Christine Neuhold, "Dynamics of Institutional Cooperation in the European Union: Dimensions and Effects", *European Integration Online Papers*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (2015), pp. 1–15.

diverted to the allies of the West.¹¹ Previous studies have suggested that the EU's development policies are increasingly becoming securitised.¹²

We aim to contribute to this literature by focusing on the nexus between security, development, humanitarian aid and democracy in the EU's policies in Chad. In this way, we try to fill two gaps in the literature. First, while there has been extensive research on the link between security and development in EU policies,¹³ the nexus between security and other policy areas, including democracy promotion and humanitarian assistance is understudied. Second, studies on the securitisation of EU development policies have mostly analysed EU documents and discourses, development aid budgets, the EU's institutional architecture, and tentative examples,¹⁴ while empirical studies are lacking.

This article investigates the whole of EU policies in Chad from 2006 onwards including diplomatic instruments (political dialogue, public statements, activities by the EU special representative or Development Commissioner), ESDP missions, humanitarian aid through the European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO), Linking Relief Rehabilitation and Development (LRRD) programmes, and different development cooperation funds such as the European Development Fund (EDF), the Instrument for Stability (IfS), the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR) as well as programming documents such as Country Strategy Papers (CSPs) and National Indicative Programmes (NIPs).

Chad is a relevant case to investigate the EU's comprehensive approach as the EU's policies in Chad have covered diverse policy areas. The EU has implemented a wide range of policies covering nearly all areas of EU competencies in external relations in Chad.¹⁵ In 2007 the EU deployed the EU Force Chad/CAR in Chad and the Central African Republic, the largest EU military mission so far. The EU uses part of its development assistance to support the security sector and to promote democratic governance. It has also provided a substantial amount of humanitarian assistance to Chad, given the difficulties with refugees from Darfur

11. Roberto Picciotto, "Aid and Conflict: The Policy Coherence Challenge", *Conflict, Security & Development*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (2004), pp. 543–562; Jo Beall, Tom Goodfellow and James Putzel, "On the Discourse of Terrorism, Security and Development", *Journal of International Development*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (2006), pp. 51–67.

12. Ramses Amer, Ashok Swain and Joakim Öjendal, "Researching the Security-Development Nexus through a Multi-Disciplinary Approach", in Ramses Amer, Ashok Swain and Joakim Öjendal (eds.), *The Security-Development Nexus: Peace, Conflict and Development* (New York: Anthem Press, 2012), pp. 1–12; Karen Del Biondo, Stefan Oltsch and Jan Orbie, "Security and Development in EU External Relations: Converging, But in Which Direction?", in Sven Biscop and Richard Whitman (eds.), *Handbook of European Union Security* (New York: Palgrave, 2012), pp. 126–142; Jörg Faust and Dirk Messner, "Europe's New Security Strategy: Challenges for Development Policy", *European Journal of Development Research*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (2005), pp. 423–436; Amelia Hadfield, "Janus Advances? An Analysis of EC Development Policy and the 2005 Amended Cotonou Partnership Agreement", *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2007), pp. 39–66.

13. Hadfield, *op. cit.*; Faust and Messner, *op. cit.*

14. Youngs, *op. cit.*; Faria and Youngs, *op. cit.*; Mark Furness and Stefan Gänzle, "The European Union's Development Policy: A Balancing Act between 'a More Comprehensive Approach' and Creeping Securitisation", University of Agder ISL Working Paper, No. 11, 22 November (Agder: University of Agder, 2012), available: <http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2184851>; Del Biondo, Oltsch and Orbie, *op. cit.*; Stephan Keukeleire and Kolja Raube, "The Security–Development Nexus and Securitization in the EU's Policies Towards Developing Countries", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (2013), pp. 556–572.

15. Cees Wittebrood and Christophe Gadrey, "The European Union and Peacebuilding: The Case of Chad", in Steven Blockmans, Jan Wouters and Tom Ruys (eds.), *The European Union and Peacebuilding* (The Hague: TMC Asser Press, 2010), p. 252.

and food insecurity. Moreover, Chad is a most-likely case for generalisation of the securitisation scenario given the sheer size of the EU's military mission and the geostrategic importance of Chad (in particular for France that was heavily involved in the military mission). However, as we will see in the paper, the securitisation hypothesis was only confirmed in the case of democratic governance and not in the case of development and humanitarian aid. The potential for generalisation is probably smaller in relation to the compartmentalisation scenario. Nevertheless, it remains relevant to research whether the EU's ambition of a comprehensive approach has materialised in a case where a wide range of policies were deployed.

This study is based on a triangulation of sources of information. Desk research was conducted of relevant official documents and available secondary literature. In addition, 10 semi-structured interviews were held with officials from the European Commission¹⁶ and the EEAS, responsible for Chad during the period under investigation, as well as experts in the area. The article is structured in two main sections. The first one explains the growing nexus between security and other areas in the EU's policies and formulates three likely scenarios of "securitisation". The second part investigates whether the EU's policies in Chad since 2006/2007 are securitised.

From Human Security to Comprehensive Security

Since the 1990s, there has been a growing consensus in academic and policy-making circles that security and development are inextricably linked, which is often referred to as the "security–development nexus".¹⁷ Such ideas have resonated in the discourse of important international security providers and have led to a growing convergence of development policies and conflict management.¹⁸ The nexus between security and development derives from an evolution in the understanding of security. After the Second World War, security was mainly understood as national security. Security policies, in this sense, had to secure the state from military threats.¹⁹ However, this concept did not capture the growing importance of non-military security issues with transnational characteristics, including environmental threats, HIV/AIDS, the instability of the global financial system, cross-border population movements, and the spread of organised criminal trafficking of drugs, arms and persons.²⁰ As a result, the international community began to focus on people as the subjects of security. The term "human security" was first mentioned in the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report, entitled "New Dimensions of Human Security". Human security emphasises two dimensions of security: freedom from fear (physical security/freedom from violence) and freedom from want (basic needs).²¹ Covering these two major components, seven possible

16. Directorate General Development and Cooperation and ECHO.

17. Maria Stern and Joakim Öjendal, "Mapping the Security-Development Nexus: Conflict, Complexity, Cacophony, Convergence", *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (2010), pp. 5–29.

18. Björn Hettne, "Development and Security: Origins and Future", *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (2010), pp. 31–52, at p. 34.

19. Bueger and Vennesson, *op. cit.*

20. Des Gasper and Thanh-Dam Truong, "Deepening Development Ethics: From Economism to Human Development to Human Security", *European Journal of Development Research*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (2005), pp. 372–384, at p. 373.

21. Des Gasper, "Securing Humanity: Situating 'Human Security' as Concept and Discourse", *Journal of Human Development*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (2005), pp. 221–245, at p. 225.

threats to human security were listed : economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.²²

In this context, the EU saw the opportunity to distinguish itself as an international security provider by taking a human security approach in its nascent security policies. A study group concluded that "the most appropriate role for Europe in the twenty-first century would be to promote human security".²³ Subsequently, key documents on EU development and security policies such as the European Consensus on Development (2005), the follow-up of the European Security Strategy (2008) and the latest revision of the Cotonou Agreement (2010) mention human security as an explicit objective. In a 2008 report on the European Security Strategy the EU states: "There cannot be sustainable development without peace and security, and without development and poverty eradication there will be no sustainable peace". Furthermore, it adds that "human rights are a fundamental part of the equation" and that conflict is often linked to state fragility and bad governance.²⁴ The 2013 Joint Communication on the EU's comprehensive approach to security builds on these declarations and sets out concrete steps to increase consistency between the different areas of EU external action. However, while the communication reiterates the reciprocal relationship between security and development, it does not explicitly mention the nexus between security and democratic governance and humanitarian objectives.²⁵

The move towards the security–development nexus has often been linked to the concept of "securitisation" introduced by the Copenhagen School of security studies.²⁶ Securitisation means the process of presenting an issue in security terms.²⁷ Securitisation often implies a primacy of security, as "whether or not a matter is perceived and declared a security concern not least determines and justifies the measures behind it".²⁸ In this light, it should be mentioned that the term "comprehensive approach" was already discussed in the early 2000s in NATO, a military organisation with limited civilian capabilities. In 2010 NATO integrated the concept in its strategic framework.²⁹ The dominance of security concerns is often justified by the belief that economic development is only possible in a secure environment.³⁰ However, the Copenhagen School is highly critical of

22. UNDP, "New Dimensions of Human Security. Human Development Report 1994" (New York: UNDP, 1994), pp. 24–33.

23. Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities, "A Human Security Doctrine for Europe" (Barcelona: Study Group on Europe's Security Capabilities, 2004), p. 29.

24. European Union, "Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy" (Brussels: European Union, 2008), p. 8.

25. EEAS, "The EU's Comprehensive Approach", *op. cit.*, p. 4.

26. Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (New York: Lynne Rienner, 1998).

27. Keukeleire and Raube, *op. cit.*, p. 557.

28. Carmen Gebhard and Per M. Norheim-Martinsen, "Making Sense of EU Comprehensive Security: Towards Conceptual and Analytical Clarity", *European Security*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (2011), pp. 221–241, at p. 227.

29. Cecilia Hull, "Focus and Convergence through a Comprehensive Approach: But Which Among the Many?", Paper from the 16th ICCRTSS conference, Québec, 21–23 June 2011, p. 6, available: <http://www.dodccrp.org/events/16th_icrts_2011/papers/088.pdf> (accessed 21 February 2015).

30. Frances Stewart and Valpy Fitzgerald, *War and Underdevelopment: The Economic and Social Consequences of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, "Poverty and Violent Conflict: Rethinking Development", in Necla Tschirgi, Michael Lund and Francesco Mancini (eds.),

securitisation. The risk of such an approach is that there is more focus on the symptoms, rather than on the root causes of the problem.³¹ There is substantial evidence that poverty and inequality cause feelings of grievance, which may lead to violent conflict.³²

Many analyses have suggested that EU development assistance is becoming increasingly securitised. Authors often point to the European Security Strategy (2003), which states that “Security is a precondition of development”.³³ This “security first” logic represented a shift from earlier official EU documents, which focused on poverty as a root cause of conflict.³⁴ Evidence of securitisation can also be found in the 2005 amendment of the Cotonou Agreement between the EU and the group of African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, which introduced paragraphs on migration, the fight against terrorism and conflict prevention.³⁵ Furthermore, a securitisation of EU development funds has been noticed. The African Peace Facility is the clearest example where budgets from the European Development Fund are used for peacekeeping and peace enforcement.³⁶ Moreover, EU aid seems to be increasingly channelled to countries that are of strategic importance to the EU.³⁷

Also in the realm of humanitarian aid, it has been increasingly recognised that emergency assistance and security policy objectives cannot be separated. However, in this area the nexus has been even more contested since humanitarian aid should be provided on the basis of the principles of impartiality, neutrality and non-discrimination. This a-political and needs-based approach is central to the mandate of the EU’s humanitarian aid office, DG ECHO. It is also emphasised in the European Consensus on Humanitarian Aid (agreed in 2007) and in the Lisbon Treaty (which has a separate Article 204 on humanitarian aid). At the same time, there have been attempts to address the “grey zone” between humanitarian aid and crisis management, for example through LRRD. The extent to which this may have entailed a securitisation of humanitarian aid has barely been researched. One study found that humanitarian aid was somewhat securitised in the 1990s but that this has diminished since the early 2000s.³⁸ Although the

Security and Development: Searching for Critical Connections (New York: Lynne Rienner, 2009), pp. 17–45; Alberto Alesina, Sule Özler, Nouriel Roubini and Phillip Swagel, “Political Instability and Economic Growth”, *Journal of Economic Growth*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1996), pp. 189–211.

31. In relation to the EU see Ian Manners, “Normative power Europe reconsidered: beyond the cross-roads”, *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (2006), pp. 182–199.

32. Paul Collier and Anke Hoeffler, “Greed and Grievance in Civil War”, *Oxford Economic Papers*, Vol. 56, No. 4 (2004), pp. 563–595; Barnett Rubin, “Sources of Violent Conflict”, in David Carment and Albrecht Schnabel (eds.), *Conflict Prevention from Rhetoric to Reality: Opportunities and Innovations* (Oxford: Lexington Books, 2004), pp. 21–40; Frances Stewart, “Crisis Prevention: Tackling Horizontal Inequalities”, *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (2000), pp. 245–262.

33. European Union, “A Secure Europe in a Better World: European Security Strategy” (Brussels: European Union, 2003), p. 2.

34. European Commission, “Communication from the Commission on Conflict Prevention” (Brussels: European Commission, 2001).

35. Hadfield, *op. cit.*

36. Faria and Youngs, *op. cit.*, p. 2; Keukeleire and Raube, *op. cit.*; Maurizio Carbone, “An Uneasy Nexus: Development, Security and the EU’s African Peace Facility”, *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (2013), pp. 103–124.

37. Del Biondo *et al.*, *op. cit.*; Furness and Gänzle, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–22; Christian Aid, *The Politics of Poverty. Aid in the New Cold War* (London: Christian Aid, 2004).

38. Helen Versluys, “European Union Humanitarian Aid: Lifesaver or Political Tool?”, in Jan Orbie (ed.), *Europe’s Global Role. External Policies of the European Union* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 107–108.

Lisbon Treaty guarantees the humanitarian principles, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) continue to warn that security priorities may hinder its neutrality and impartiality.³⁹ On the other hand, some studies suggest that cooperation between the humanitarian and development spheres of the EU (respectively DG ECHO and the Directorate-General for International Cooperation and Development [DG DEVCO]/EuropeAid) remains difficult to achieve.⁴⁰ Whereas the independence of humanitarian aid has not been affected, also the desired cooperation between humanitarian and development policy has not been put in practice beyond some pilot projects.⁴¹

Security objectives may trump the EU's goals to promote democratic governance. Authoritarian regimes are often tolerated when they are able to provide political stability and exercise effective control over the entire territory.⁴² Donors may be reluctant to impose rapid democratisation on conflict-prone countries, as this may provoke instability.⁴³ However, research into the causes of conflict has argued that the absence of political rights and exclusion of certain groups in the political process lead to grievances, which may result in rebellions.⁴⁴ The EU has often supported authoritarian governments as long as they are internally stable and have a stabilising effect on neighbouring countries.⁴⁵ In fragile states or post-conflict countries the EU has focused on peaceful rather than on democratic elections (e.g. Nigeria, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of Congo). Again, such an approach risks focusing only on short-term solutions while ignoring potential root causes of insecurity. The European Commission has underlined the importance of addressing democratic governance and human rights as root causes of structural stability.⁴⁶ The European Security Strategy mentioned that: "The best protection of our security is a world of well-governed democratic states".⁴⁷

In sum, the EU has increasingly recognised that security, development, humanitarian and democratic governance objectives should be geared to one another and that therefore a comprehensive approach is required. While existing studies

39. Jan Orbie, Peter Van Elsuwege and Fabienne Bossuyt, "Humanitarian Aid as an Integral Part of the European Union's External Action: The Challenge of Reconciling Coherence and Independence", *Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (2014), pp. 158–165; VOICE, "VOICE Position on Civil–Military Relations in Humanitarian Action" (Brussels: VOICE, 2009).

40. Pedro Morazán, François Grünewald, Irene Koke and Tobias Schäfer, "Strengthening the Link between Relief, Rehabilitation and Development (LRRD) in the EU's Financing Instruments for Development and Humanitarian Aid under the MFF 2014-220" (Brussels: European Parliament, 2012), available: <[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2012/433783/EXPO-DEVE_ET\(2012\)433783_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2012/433783/EXPO-DEVE_ET(2012)433783_EN.pdf)>.

41. Orbie, Van Elsuwege and Bossuyt, *op.cit.*, p. 162.

42. Barnett Rubin, *op. cit.*, p. 32; Marta Reynal-Querol, "Ethnicity, Political Systems, and Civil Wars", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (2002), pp. 29–54, at p. 35.

43. Michael Barnett and Christoph Zürcher, "The Peacebuilder's Contract. How External Statebuilding Reinforces Weak Statehood", in Roland Paris and Timothy Sisk (eds.), *The Dilemmas of Statebuilding* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), p. 31; Michael Barnett, "State Fragility, the Peacebuilder's Contract, and the Search for the Least Bad State", RSCAS Working Paper, No. 14 (Florence: EUI, 2010), available: <<http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/13537>>.

44. Collier and Hoeffler, *op. cit.*; Reynal-Querol, *op. cit.*

45. Michèle Knodt and Annette Jünemann, "Explaining EU Instruments and Strategies of EU Democracy Promotion. Conclusions", in Michèle Knodt and Annette Jünemann (eds.), *European External Democracy Promotion* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2007), pp. 353–369.

46. European Commission, "The European Union and the Issue of Conflicts in Africa: Peace-Building, Conflict Prevention and Beyond" (Brussels: European Commission, 1996).

47. European Union, "A Secure Europe in a Better World", *op. cit.*, p. 10.

suggest that security objectives tend to dominate EU policies, it has not yet been investigated systematically how exactly security, development, democracy promotion and humanitarian aid policies converge in a relevant country case. Such a holistic analysis should also ask the question whether different policy areas remain compartmentalised. As indicated above, part of the literature characterises the EU's external action as being the sum of different policies stemming from separate sub-systems with diverse objectives. Despite increasing attempts at coordination, the compartmentalised nature of the EU foreign policy system still often entails incoherent outcomes. In the subsequent section we aim to examine the questions of securitisation and compartmentalisation more closely by looking at the EU's policies promoting security, democracy, development and humanitarian objectives in Chad.

The EU in Chad

In this section, we will investigate the EU's strategies to promote security, democracy, development and humanitarian objectives in Chad. We will start by discussing problems regarding security, development, humanitarian issues and democracy in Chad and how they are interrelated. We then focus on the EU's approach to addressing these issues in Chad, asking the question whether there is compartmentalisation between different policy areas and whether the EU's approach has been securitised.

Security, Development, Humanitarian and Democracy Related Problems in Chad

Insecurity in Chad increased significantly in the mid-2000s. Security problems emerged from three main sources. First of all, there was a serious risk of a military coup, which became clear after the attempted coup d'état in May 2004.⁴⁸ Secondly, many armed opposition groups responded to the political and economic crisis in Chad.⁴⁹ A first attempt to take power was made in April 2006. In January 2008, a coalition of rebels launched an attack on N'Djamena and nearly ousted Déby. Thirdly, there is the spill-over of the conflict in Sudan. Many armed rebellions were supported by Sudan, while President Déby actively supported the Justice and Equality Movement in Darfur.⁵⁰ In 2010, relations were normalised following an agreement between Chad and Sudan. Both countries expelled rebel forces from their respective territories.⁵¹ Furthermore, the conflict in Darfur caused an influx of Sudanese refugees and cross-border incursions of Sudanese militias, including the Janjaweed. The Chadian army was unable and unwilling to protect the camps and to address the impunity and banditry permeating the region.⁵²

48. International Crisis Group, "Tchad: Vers le Retour de la Guerre" (Brussels/Nairobi : ICG, 2006), p. 10.

49. International Crisis Group, "Chad: A New Conflict Resolution Framework" (Brussels: ICG, 2008), pp. 12–13.

50. Roland Marchal, "Chad/Darfur: How Two Crises Merge", *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 33, No. 109 (2006), pp. 467–482, at p. 473.

51. International Crisis Group, "Tchad: Au-delà de l'Apaisement" (Brussels : ICG, 2010), p. 2.

52. Marco Boggero, "Darfur and Chad: A Fragmented Ethnic Mosaic", *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (2009), pp. 21–35, at p. 27; Oxfam, Action contre la Faim, Care and Cordaid, "IDPs

Chad also faces a deeply flawed *democratisation* process. Although multi-party democracy was formally introduced in the early 1990s, subsequent elections have been characterised by serious flaws. After the 2001 elections, the results of which were challenged by the opposition, most opposition parties declared they would boycott all further polls organised by the regime.⁵³ In this context, Déby won most of the seats in the subsequent legislative elections (2002), managed to push through a constitutional referendum that abolished the two-term limit on the presidency (2005) and won a third term in the May 2006 elections.⁵⁴ In August 2007, a political agreement was reached between the non-armed opposition and the ruling party, which paved the way for inclusive legislative elections. However, the deteriorated security situation after the January 2008 coup attempt caused a serious delay in the implementation of the agreement. Amidst the turmoil caused by the uprising, Déby declared a state of emergency, arrested three opposition members and tightened restrictions on the free press.⁵⁵ Nonetheless, the implementation of the agreement was continued, and in 2009, new electoral laws were adopted and an independent electoral commission was created.⁵⁶ Legislative elections were held in February 2011 and were won by the presidential majority. Although the elections were held in a relatively open sphere, the ruling party had a comparative advantage over the opposition as it used state resources during the campaigning period.⁵⁷ Presidential elections, held in April 2011, were again boycotted by opposition candidates as their demands for electoral reform had not been met.

Lastly, Chad has also faced a *socio-economic and humanitarian* crisis. Despite income from oil extraction coming in since 2002–2003, it remains one of the poorest countries in the world. Chad ranked at the very bottom of the 2010 Human Development Index (HDI); only six countries scored worse. Its HDI score deteriorated between 2005 and 2010. As a landlocked country with a desert climate in the north, Chad (and particularly the Sahelian zone in central and eastern Chad) is periodically affected by chronic food deficits.⁵⁸ Humanitarian problems were aggravated by the arrival of Sudanese refugees, which put a strain on the already limited resources. More recently, refugee flows from Libya in 2011 and from the Central African Republic in 2013 have caused significant humanitarian problems. Moreover, from 2005 onwards, the government has shifted attention away from poverty reduction because of the worsening security situation. The most flagrant example of this was the decision in 2005 to amend the Revenue Management Law, which provided that the bulk of oil revenues would go to poverty reduction, to allow for an increase in security spending.⁵⁹ The economy is

in Eastern Chad: Is It Time to Go Back Home?" (2009), available: <http://www.caringforkaela.org/files/file/09_04_24%20NGO%20Chad%20Return%20paper.pdf> (accessed 19 May 2014).

53. International Crisis Group, "Chad: A New Conflict Resolution Framework", *op. cit.*, pp. 9–10.

54. Paul-Simon Handy, "Chad: Democratisation Challenges and Limits to International Intervention", ARI (Analyses of the Elcano Real Institute), No.59 (Madrid: Real Instituto Elcano, 2008), pp. 4–5.

55. Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2003" (New York: Freedom House, 2003).

56. International Crisis Group, "Tchad: Sortir du Piège Pétrolier" (Brussels : ICG, 2009).

57. European Union Election Observation Mission, "Mission d'Observation Electorale. Tchad. Rapport Final. Elections Legislatives", pp. 4–6, available: <http://eeas.europa.eu/eueom/pdf/missions/rapport_final_moe_ue_tchad_270511_fr.pdf> (accessed 25 February 2015).

58. World Food Programme, "Chad Overview" (n.d.), available: <<http://www.wfp.org/countries/Chad/Overview>> (accessed 19 May 2014).

59. Hans Eriksson and Björn Hagströmer, "Chad: Towards Democratisation or Petro-Dictatorship?", Discussion Paper, No. 29 (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2005), p. 45.

further hampered by corruption: Chad ranked 171 of 178 countries in the 2010 Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index. Chad is one of the most difficult countries in the world in which to start a business; in the World Bank's 2010 Doing Business Index, it ranked 178 out of 183 countries. According to the Governance Indicators, government effectiveness has deteriorated significantly between the early 2000s and 2010.

An Increasingly Political Approach

Since the mid-2000s, the EU's approach to Chad has become more political. A first indication of this evolution can be found in the NIPs, which also specify the EU budget for Chad. The emphasis has shifted from purely socio-economic development to security and democratisation. The NIP for 2002–2007 foresaw three focal sectors: transport (41%), water (25%) and macroeconomic support (25%), while good governance and institutional support represented only 9% of the aid package.⁶⁰ With the NIP for 2007–2013, however, good governance (and more specifically support for justice, security forces, public finances, democratic institutions and decentralisation) was increased to about one-third of total cooperation.⁶¹ The security situation in eastern Chad accelerated these efforts. In 2006, the UN contemplated the establishment of a multidimensional presence in Chad and the Central African Republic. However, it soon became clear that President Déby was unwilling to accept such a force, given that it would be accompanied by a programme on human rights and the rule of law. In this context, France proposed EUFOR as a bridging operation for one year, after which the UN would start its police mission MINURCAT (*Mission des Nations Unies en République Centrafricaine et Tchad*). The latter would try and broker a more long-term solution to insecurity in eastern Chad by training and advising elements of a special force to provide security in the refugee and internally displaced person (IDP) camps, the *Détachement Intégré de Sécurité* (DIS).⁶² EUFOR's formal mandate was to protect civilians, facilitate the delivery of humanitarian aid and ensure safety of UN personnel.⁶³ EUFOR became the largest military mission deployed by the EU in Africa, with over 3,700 forces coming from 23 member states and three non-EU countries in the period between 15 March 2008 and 17 September 2008. The total cost of the mission is estimated at €1 billion.⁶⁴ In addition to EUFOR, €38 million was invested in the security sector in Chad. Of this, €10 million came from the IfS and was directly invested in the MINURCAT police mission. The *Programme d'appui à la réforme des forces de sécurité intérieure* (PAFSI, €13.5 million from the EDF) involves training for the *Police Nationale* and for the DIS. The second part of the project (PAFSI II,

60. Tchad—Communauté Européenne, “Stratégie de coopération et Programme Indicatif 2002-2007”, p. 28, available: <http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/tchad/documents/more_info/programme_indicatif_national_9ieme_fed_fr.pdf> (accessed 25 February 2015).

61. Tchad—Communauté Européenne, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–4.

62. Alexander Mattelaer, “The Strategic Planning of EU Military Operations—The Case of EUFOR Tchad/RCA”, IES Working Paper No.5 (Brussels: Institute of European Studies, 2008), pp. 8–9.

63. Tony Chafer, “Anglo-French Security Cooperation in Africa since Saint-Malo”, in Tony Chafer and Gordon Cumming (eds.), *From Rivalry to Partnership? New Approaches to the Challenges of Africa* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 79; Mattelaer, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

64. David Styan, “EU Power and Armed Humanitarianism in Africa: Evaluating ESDP in Chad”, *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (2012), pp. 651–668.

€14.5 million from the EDF) is intended to support the *Gendarmerie Nationale* (GN) and *Garde Nationale et Nomade du Tchad* (GNNT).⁶⁵

The EU has also come to pay some attention to democratic governance. Democratic governance was almost absent in the EU's strategies in the period 2000–2006. Apart from one small project on media freedom by the European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights (in 2002), no democracy assistance was provided in this period. Only occasionally, the EU reacted publicly to problems on democracy and human rights in the country, namely in the context of the 2001 and 2006 presidential elections. Moreover, there was no political dialogue in the context of Article 8 of the Cotonou Agreement between the EU and Chad.⁶⁶ After the 2006 elections, however, the EU placed democratisation higher on its agenda in Chad. Via the German and French embassies and the Commission delegation, the EU was the key facilitator of the August 2007 agreement.⁶⁷ The implementation of the agreement was financially supported by the *Programme d'appui à la réforme du système électoral au Tchad* (PARSET, €5 million), which sponsored the creation of an electoral list and of an electoral commission, domestic observation by civil society, civic education and strengthening political parties. In addition, €5 million of the IfS—the instrument *par excellence* for promoting the security–development nexus—was committed to support the electoral census in Chad.⁶⁸ Apart from support to the electoral process, the EU also provides a substantial amount (€25 million from the EDF) to the justice sector, via the *Programme d'Appui à la Justice au Tchad* (PRAJUST). The shift towards a more political approach coincided with a change of the Head of Delegation of the EU from Mr Cremeur (2001–2006) who was more development oriented to Mr Desesquelles (2006–2011) who focused more on political and security issues (interview 8, 11 May 2012).

The EU has also provided a massive amount of humanitarian aid to Chad, which is one of the 17 “extremely vulnerable” countries or territories identified by the EU on the basis of a needs assessment.⁶⁹ DG ECHO has been active in Chad since 2004.⁷⁰ Most of ECHO's assistance in this period was destined for refugees from Sudan and the Central African Republic. From 2007 onwards, food assistance became more prominent, particularly in the Sahel belt. The EU has also engaged in LRRD in Chad. In 2011, ECHO also focused on humanitarian assistance for Chadians returning from Libya. In 2014, the inflow of refugees from the Central African Republic asked for an increase in ECHO's efforts to meet the basic needs of those refugees.⁷¹

65. See European Commission, “Commission Decision of 18 December 2009 on the 2009 Annual Action Programme for Chad to Be Financed from the 10th European Development Fund—Action Fiches” (Brussels: European Commission, 2009); European Commission, “Commission Decision of 28/07/2010 on an ad hoc Measure for Chad to Be Financed from the 10th European Development Fund—Action Fiches” (Brussels: European Commission, 2010).

66. Interview 1, 19 March 2009; Interview 2, 23 January 2012; Interview 8, 11 May 2012.

67. Styan, *op. cit.*, p. 666.

68. European Commission, “Annual Report from the European Commission on the Instrument for Stability in 2008” (Brussels: European Commission, 2009), pp. 4–5.

69. European Commission, “Accompanying Document to the ‘Report from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament’. Annual Report on the Humanitarian Aid Policy and Its Implementation in 2009” (Brussels: European Commission, 2010).

70. Morazán *et al.*, *op. cit.*

71. European Commission, “Humanitarian Implementation Plan (HIP) Chad”, available: http://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/funding/decisions/2014/HIPs/chad_en.pdf (accessed 24 April 2014).

The nexus between security, development, humanitarian aid and democracy promotion policies

While the EU approach has become more political since the mid-2000s, involving not just *socio-economic* development and humanitarian assistance but also democratic governance and security-related cooperation, the question remains how these different policies relate to each other. In this section, we will therefore analyse whether EU policies have been compartmentalised and/or securitised. We analyse the nexus between security and democracy, security and development and security and humanitarian aid respectively.

Security–democracy nexus

EU policies in the security and democracy areas were largely compartmentalised. There were some attempts to establish links, but this was very limited. For example, a small part of the justice reform programme was meant to address impunity in eastern Chad. The PRAJUST programme aims to finance mobile courts in the east with the aim of making justice actors return to the east. In this way, the programme builds on the UN mandate establishing MINURCAT.⁷² In the security sphere, some efforts were made to ensure that Chadian security forces effectively provided security for citizens and goods and respected democratic governance. Indeed, within the PAFSI programme, human rights deontology was included in the training of the *Police Nationale*, *Gendarmerie Nationale* and *Garde Nationale et Nomade du Tchad*.⁷³ Moreover, a close coordination with justice sector reform, the Ministry of Human Rights and human rights organisations was sought.⁷⁴ Still, an EU official confessed that these initiatives are only “peanuts” that may be good for communication but do not contribute to justice reform.⁷⁵ The compartmentalisation of democracy and security policies can be explained by the division of responsibilities in both areas: whereas the political dialogue was seen as “the baby of the EC delegation” in N’Djamena, the preparation of the EUFOR mission in the eastern part of Chad was primarily done in Brussels and Paris.⁷⁶

We can clearly see that security considerations have been prioritised over democracy promotion. The EUFOR mission mainly aimed at achieving stability and security. It was largely designed as separate from the internal political crisis in Chad, despite the obvious interconnectedness between the security situation and Chad’s political crisis (see *supra*). EUFOR officers were specifically instructed not to talk to the Chadian rebels and could not intervene in the political problems in the country.⁷⁷ In this way, the mission reflected the interests of France. The French government’s main objective was to achieve stability in Chad,⁷⁸ and a continuation of the Déby government was considered as the best way to achieve this

72. European Commission, “Décision de la Commission sur le Programme d’action annuel 2008 en faveur de la République du Tchad à financer sur les ressources du 10ème Fonds Européen de Développement – Action Fiches”, available: <http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/documents/aap/2008/af_aap_2008_tcd.pdf> (accessed 30 April 2012).

73. European Commission, “Commission Decision of 28/07/2010”, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

74. European Commission, “Commission Decision of 28/07/2010”, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

75. Interview 8, 11 May 2012.

76. Interview 5, 19 April 2012.

77. Chafer, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

78. See Mattelaer, *op. cit.*, p. 14, quoting a French diplomat: “What we want in Chad is stability”.

aim. This should also be seen in the context of the geopolitical situation. The West has tried to isolate Khartoum, which gives President Déby the opportunity to present himself as "the good guy".⁷⁹ A high-ranked official at the EU confirms the view that stability was the EU's main concern and that democracy-related considerations were subordinated to this. He argues that "stability was not possible without Déby" and that the 2010 election, despite its obvious flaws, needed to be endorsed "in the name of stability".⁸⁰ Other EU member states supported an EU initiative because they wanted "to do something related to Darfur" and "something for the ESDP" or because of specific domestic considerations.⁸¹

As a result, there has arguably been some ambiguity as to the relationship between the military mission and the objective of democratic governance. On the one hand there was clear French support for the Déby government against the armed opposition even until early 2008. On the other hand the French-instigated EUFOR mission claimed to be neutral and impartial. In any case, the EUFOR mission had the effect of consolidating Déby's power as its mandate to create a safe and secure environment had an effect of "humanitarian deterrence".⁸² Originally, the UN had come up with a plan for a mission that would include civilian, police and military components. The civilian component would include the rule of law, civil affairs, human rights, humanitarian liaison and public information.⁸³ The Chadian government was however unfavourable to such a comprehensive mission which it feared would threaten its position. In order to be acceptable for the Chadian government, the EUFOR mission had a more security and humanitarian oriented mandate.⁸⁴ Another example supporting the securitisation scenario is the case of the investigation of the disappearance of the opposition candidate Mahamat Saleh in 2006. After pressure in the French parliament on the issue, the French and the EU pushed for the establishment of an investigation committee, which found that the security forces were complicit and the Chadian government had done little to prevent this. However, none of the actors involved truly followed up on the report in terms of diplomatic action.⁸⁵ A democracy-first approach would have implied that the EU would engage in tackling the root causes of conflict by making sure that all opposition groups are represented in the political system. However, the EU only pushed for dialogue with the non-armed opposition, which led to the August 2007 political agreement.⁸⁶

Security–development nexus

The EUFOR's mandate centred on stability and security and did not aim to directly intermesh with developmental considerations. In 2006 an informal division of labour between the security and development spheres of the EU emerged: while

79. Interview 1, 19 March 2009.

80. Interview 8, 11 May 2012.

81. Interview 4, 16 April 2012; Styan, *op. cit.*, p. 657; Benjamin Pohl, "To What Ends? Governmental Interests and European Union (Non-)Intervention in Chad and the Democratic Republic of Congo", *Cooperation and Conflict*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (2014), pp. 191–211.

82. Interview 4, 16 April 2012; Mattelaer, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–28; Chafer, *op. cit.*

83. Mattelaer, *op. cit.*, pp. 8–9.

84. Interview 4, 16 April 2012.

85. Richard Moncrieff, "French Relations with Sub-Saharan Africa under President Sarkozy", SAIIA Occasional Paper No 107 (Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs, 2012), p. 35.

86. Interview 4, 16 April 2012.

EUFOR's activities concerned the east of Chad, the EC Delegation focused more on other parts of the country.⁸⁷ Seibert reports that, during the EUFOR mission, cooperation between development policies under the responsibility of the Commission Delegation and the military in the form of EUFOR was "largely elusive" and "limited at best", and that the nomination of an EU special representative (EUSR), Mr Torben Brylle, did not improve cooperation because "he was seen as an additional extension of the Council Secretariat at the expense of the EU Commission".⁸⁸ Similarly, Helly talks about "disappointingly sub-optimal" cooperation between the military staff and the Commission.⁸⁹ According to Wittebrood and Gadrey⁹⁰ this situation has its origins in the planning phase of the EUFOR operation which was "largely driven by the European Council" while the Commission's role was limited. Development-related projects by EUFOR were limited to about €2.2 million.⁹¹

Although it is clear that an increasing amount of EU funds has gone to security, this did not mean that funds were diverted away from economic development. Rather, the overall envelope of development assistance for Chad was increased which allowed for a more comprehensive approach without reducing funds for development objectives. Given that the A envelope of the EDF, which includes programmable aid, increased by almost one-third, the amount spent on development did not decrease.⁹² In 2002–2007, the A envelope was €202 million, of which 9% or €18 million was foreseen for governance and €184 for development (transport, water, macro-economic support). However, in 2008–2013, the A envelope increased to €299 million, of which 32–36% or €99 million would go to governance and €200 to development (transport, rural development, health, technical support). Support for the security sector was further financed by the Instrument for Stability, which is specifically designed to finance security-related activities.

Security–humanitarian aid nexus

The relationship between the EUFOR Tchad/RCA mission and the Commission's humanitarian aid office has been more intensive than that with the development aid counterpart, but it has equally also been more openly conflicting. From the outset EUFOR was confronted with mistrust by the humanitarian aid scene consisting of international NGOs but also the Commission's ECHO.⁹³ The latter was particularly hesitant about the political dynamics behind the mission, which was perceived to be motivated by French security interests and put too much emphasis on the visibility and measurable results in terms of IDP returns.⁹⁴

87. Interviews 5 and 6, 19 April 2012.

88. Björn H. Seibert, *Operation EUFOR Tchad/RCA and the European Union's Common Security and Defense Policy* (Carlisle: Strategic Studies Institute, 2010), pp. 61–63.

89. Damien Helly, "The EU Military Operation in the Republic of Chad and in the Central African Republic (Operation EUFOR Tchad/RCA)", in Giovanni Grevi, Damien Helly and Daniel Keohane (eds.), *European Security and Defence Policy. The First 10 Years (1999–2009)* (Paris: The European Union Institute for Security Studies, 2009), p. 343.

90. Wittebrood and Gadrey, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

91. Seibert, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

92. Interview Sergio Scuero, see p. 58, available: <http://eeas.europa.eu/ifs/publications/articles/rep1/reportage%20vol1_chapter3_chad%20-%20boosting%20security%20in%20refugee%20camps.pdf> (accessed 30 April 2012).

93. Morazán *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

94. Interview 3, 19 April 2012; Wittebrood and Gadrey, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

There are no indications that a securitisation of the EU's humanitarian aid has taken place in Chad. Humanitarian aid budgets seem to be in line with a needs-based approach, and despite pressure from EUFOR to do more in the east, the level of assistance provided to the refugee camps did not change.⁹⁵ In addition, the relationship between the military and humanitarian spheres gradually improved over the summer of 2008,⁹⁶ allegedly because the EUFOR Commander (Mr Ganascia, a French national) started to take their concerns into account.⁹⁷ From then onwards EUFOR focused more clearly on humanitarian concerns and abandoned the temptation to measure success by counting IDP returns.⁹⁸ This evolution can be seen as a victory for the humanitarian aid community, including the Commission's DG ECHO, which managed to preserve the humanitarian principles in the face of initial opposition from the military sphere.⁹⁹ Despite the fact that the security situation in Chad has improved, the budget for humanitarian assistance has not decreased, and has even increased in recent years.¹⁰⁰ Growing food insecurity in the Sahel and refugee flows from Libya and the Central African Republic can explain this increase.¹⁰¹

Conclusions

This paper has sought to address the nexus between the EU's security, democracy promotion and development policies, as well as humanitarian assistance in Chad from 2006 to the present. Whereas EU policies in Chad were largely dominated by development and humanitarian assistance until the mid-2000s, from 2006 onwards the EU has embarked on other areas including security and democracy promotion. First of all, this study addressed the question whether the EU's comprehensive approach supersedes the compartmentalisation of the EU's political system. We found that policies in different areas were largely conducted separately from one another. As regards the military mission EUFOR, we noticed a strong degree of mistrust from the development and humanitarian community, although cooperation with the latter improved significantly. Attempts to integrate security and democratic governance policies were rather tentative. Secondly, the study asked the question whether a comprehensive approach has led to a securitisation of EU policies. Interestingly, while we found clear evidence of a securitisation of democracy promotion, we did not find development policy or humanitarian aid to be securitised. The EUFOR mission had the effect (intended by France and tolerated by other member states) of strengthening an authoritarian regime and overshadowing democracy promotion efforts. In contrast, while we had expected security issues to dominate over the EU's development cooperation and

95. Interview 5, 19 April 2012.

96. See also Seibert, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–64; Helly, *op. cit.*, pp. 344–345; Wittebrood and Gadrey, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

97. Interview 3, 3 April 2012.

98. Interview 5, 19 April 2012.

99. Wittebrood and Gadrey, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

100. Financing decisions available on website DG ECHO: European Commission's Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection Department, "Financing decisions (HIPs) 2015", <http://ec.europa.eu/echo/funding-evaluations/funding-decisions-hips_en>.

101. Interview 7, 3 May 2012; European Commission, "Humanitarian Implementation Plan", *op. cit.*

humanitarian assistance, it seems that activities were not reduced in either of these areas, despite some pressure from the EUFOR mission to refocus activities on the east.

While the securitisation of democracy promotion could be expected on the basis of previous studies,¹⁰² the non-securitisation of development and humanitarian assistance is rather surprising. The dominance of security over democracy can be explained by the particular role of France, which has strong links with the government of President Déby. Furthermore, the EU is confronted with the “lack of an alternative”, namely a fragmented opposition and a weak civil society, making it difficult to support democracy bottom-up. Democracy assistance has proven particularly sensitive in the case of Chad, and the EU is shown to have very limited leverage vis-à-vis the government which has access to oil revenues.¹⁰³ Development policy is less likely to be abandoned than democracy promotion, given the “pressure to spend” and the fact that development assistance is mostly well received by developing countries while democracy assistance is often seen as intrusive in internal affairs.¹⁰⁴ In the case of the EU, democracy promotion is a relatively new policy area, which has often led to the EU taking a more technocratic or developmental approach.¹⁰⁵ In the case of humanitarian aid we saw that ECHO was particularly strong in emphasising its autonomy.

Notwithstanding earlier publications and fears from NGOs suggesting that the EU's development policies have become securitised, the case of Chad did not confirm this scenario. This is surprising given the fact that security was a key issue in this case, given the large security mission and instability in the country and region, and the French interests involved. Hence, it can be expected that this conclusion can be generalised to other cases where security objectives are less important. While security features increasingly on the EU's agenda towards developing countries, our findings suggest that this does not necessarily lead to securitisation in the sense that funds are being diverted or development or humanitarian initiatives are being used for security purposes. As far as the securitisation of democratic governance is concerned, this was expected given Chad's strategic importance. Also our finding on the continuing compartmentalisation is less generalisable to other countries.

In any case, further systematic and comparative research would be needed to analyse the interplay between security, development, humanitarian and democracy promotion policies. The EU has recently stepped up its efforts to reach a comprehensive approach to security with a Joint Communication by the European Commission and EEAS on this topic, but democratic governance has been understated in this document. Our analysis makes clear that, while fears voiced by the NGO community of a securitisation of aid may be overstated, there is an urgent need to take democracy related objectives more seriously as part of a comprehensive approach.

102. Knodt and Jünemann, *op. cit.*

103. Interview 1, 19 March 2009; Interviews 9 and 10, 31 August 2012; Styan, *op. cit.*, p. 667.

104. Thomas Carothers, “The Elusive Synthesis”, *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (2010), pp. 12–26; Wil Hout, “The Anti-Politics of Development: Donor Agencies and the Political Economy of Governance”, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (2012), pp. 405–422.

105. Karen Del Biondo and Jan Orbie, “The European Commission's Implementation of Budget Support and the Governance Incentive Tranche in Ethiopia: Democracy Promoter or Developmental Donor?”, *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (2014), pp. 411–427.

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